

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MBFR VIENNA 0397

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP APPROVED SUPPLEMENT

TO CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE ON EAST

FIRST STEP PROPOSAL

REFS: MBFR VIENNA 0368 AND MBFR VIENNA 0372

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT ITS NOV 6 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP (AHG) APPROVED CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE ON THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL, TRANSMITTED BELOW. THIS GUIDANCE FOR ALLIED PRESS SPOKESMAN IS SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE AHG GUIDANCE REPORTED IN MBFR VIENNA 368, AND IS REVISED VERSION OF TEXT IN MBFR VIENNA 372. MAIN ISSUE DISCUSSED BY AHG WAS WHETHER ALLIED SPOKESMAN SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED, IN RESPONSE TO POSSIBLE PRESS QUESTIONS REGARDING NATURE OF CON-
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STRUCTIVE WESTERN MOVES, TO REVEAL THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" OFFER

AND THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT. IN VIEW OF OPPOSITION BY FRG, UK ITALIAN AND CANADIAN REPS, GROUP DECIDED AGAINST PERMITTING SPOKESMAN TO REVEAL THESE ALLIED MOVES FOR THE TIME BEING, THAT SPOKESMAN COULD INSTEAD DRAW ON GENERAL REMARKS CONCERNING LINKAGE ALONG THE LINES OF JULY 17 QUARLES PRESS CONFERENCE, AND THAT GROUP WOULD MONITOR PRESS CAREFULLY AND COULD RE-CONSIDER SUBJECT AT A LATER TIME.

2. COMMENT: AT THE NOV 7 POST PLENARY PRESS BRIEFING, THE EASTERN SPOKESMEN WERE VERY CAREFUL TO AVOID DIVULGING FURTHER DETAILS OF EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL. END SUMMARY

BEGIN TEXT OF SUPPLEMENT TO CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE:

POSSIBLE PRESS QUESTION:

ISN'T IT TRUE THAT THE EAST HAS FINALLY AGREED IN VIENNA TO ONE OF THE PRIMARY WESTERN DEMANDS, THAT IS, THAT THE US AND THE USSR SHOULD REDUCE FIRST? ISN'T THIS AN IMPORTANT MOVE BY THE EAST?

POSSIBLE WESTERN REPLY:

1. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IS NOT NEW IN ITS FUNDAMENTALS, BUT THERE HAS BEEN A PROCEDURAL CHANGE.

2. THE EAST AGREED LAST JUNE AND RECENTLY HAS CONFIRMED THAT IT WOULD BE WILLING TO SPLIT OFF THE FIRST STAGE OF ITS NOVEMBER 8 PROPOSAL TO FORM A SEPARATE AGREEMENT, TO BE FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY FURTHER NEGOTIATION. THE EAST HAS PROPOSED THAT, IN IMPLEMENTING THIS FIRST SYMBOLIC REDUCTION AGREEMENT, THE US AND USSR COULD REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION YEAR, WITH THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS CARRYING OUT THEIR REDUCTIONS IN THE SECOND SIX MONTHS.

3. THIS IS ONLY A PROCEDURAL CHANGE IN THE EASTERN POSITION, NOT ONE OF SUBSTANCE. THE EAST STILL INSISTS ON THE SAME SUBSTANTIVE CONDITIONS AS IN ITS EARLIER PROPOSALS, NAMELY, THAT ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS

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NOT ONLY THE US, BUT ALSO CANADA AND THE WESTERN EUROPEANS, REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN THIS FIRST REDUCTION AGREEMENT. IT ALSO INSISTS, AS IT DID LAST NOVEMBER, THAT ALL NATO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING CANADA AND THE WESTERN EUROPEANS, COMMIT THEMSELVES ON THE EXACT AMOUNT AND TIMING OF THEIR OWN REDUCTIONS BEFORE THE SOVIET UNION MAKES ANY REDUCTION WHATEVER.

4. AS WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE EAST FROM THE BEGINNING OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THESE CONDITIONS ARE CONTRARY TO THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE NATO ALLIES

5. IN VIEW OF THE LARGE SIZE OF SOVIET FORCES IN EUROPE, CANADA AND THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE UNDERSTANDABLY UNWILLING TO ENTER INTO SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS ON THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS UNTIL AFTER THE SOVIETS HAVE AGREED ON AN ACCEPTABLE REDUCTION GOAL AND GIVEN THE EXAMPLE OF PRIOR SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET REDUCTIONS TOWARD THAT GOAL.

6. MOREOVER, THE SITUATION OF MOST WESTERN EUROPEANS IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE SOVIETS. THEY ARE IN THE REDUCTION AREA; THE SOVIET UNION IS OUTSIDE IT. THEIR ENTIRE TERRITORY WOULD BE COVERED BY AN AGREEMENT. BUT NO ONE HAS PROPOSED AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD COVER THE ENTIRE TERRITORY OF THE USSR. AGAIN, THESE COUNTRIES HAVE MOST OF THEIR FORCES IN THE AREA; THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT. REDUCTION MEANS SOMETHING SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FOR THESE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THAN FOR THE SOVIETS. FOR THEM, IT MEANS THEIR FORCES WOULD HAVE TO ACTUALLY BE REDUCED IN SIZE, WHILE SOVIET FORCES WOULD MERELY BE WITHDRAWN A SHORT DISTANCE EASTWARD.

7. THEREFORE, CANADA AND THE WESTERN EUROPEANS HAVE GOOD REASON TO BE UNWILLING TO COMMIT THEMSELVES AS TO THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS UNTIL AFTER THE SOVIET UNION HAS AGREED TO AN OUTCOME FOR THE REDUCTION PROCESS THAT DEALS EFFECTIVELY WITH THE MAJOR GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES IN THE AREA AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS CARRIED OUT A SIZEABLE REDUCTION OF ITS FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

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8. WE HAVE, OF COURSE, A GOOD MANY OTHER OBJECTIONS TO THE OTHER ASPECTS OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WHICH REMAIN THE SAME AS IN THE FIRST STAGE OF THEIR NOVEMBER 8 PROPOSAL.

9. TO SUM UP, THE SOVIET UNION STILL WANTS THE WESTERN EUROPEANS TO SIGN UP FOR REDUCTIONS BEFORE THE SOVIET UNION GIVES THE NECESSARY PROOF OF ITS GOOD FAITH. THEREFORE, AS WE HAVE TOLD THE SOVIETS CLEARLY OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS, THIS MINOR CHANGE IN THEIR PROPOSAL DOES NOT MEET ESSENTIAL ALLIED REQUIREMENTS. END TEXTRESOR

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